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SPEECHES

OF

GENERAL U. S. GRANT,

REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR

EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,

BEING EXTRACTS FROM

Speeches, Letters, Orders, Military and State Papers.

"This is a Republic where the will of the People is the law of the land. I beg that their voice may be heard."



**"Patient of toils, serene amid alarms;
Inflexible of faith, invincible of arms."**

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“Man of long-enduring blood ,
 The statesman-warrior, moderate, resolute,
 Whole in himself, a common good.
 Man of amplest influence,
 Yet clearest of ambitious crime,
 Our greatest, yet with least pretence,
Great in council, and great in war,
Foremost Captain of his time ;
Rich in saving common-sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity sublime.

* * * * *

“In praise and dispraise the same,
 A man of well attuned fame.
 O civic muse, to such a name,
 To such a name for ages long,
 To such a name,
 Preserve a broad approach to fame,
 And ever-ringing avenues of song.

* * * * *

“Thro’ the centuries let a people’s voice,
 In full acclaim,
 A people’s voice,
 The proof and echo of all human fame,
 A people’s voice, when they rejoice
 At civic revel and pomp and game,
 Attest their great commander’s claim
 With honor, honor, honor, honor to him,
 Eternal honor to his name.

* * * * *

“Yet remember all
 He spoke among you, and the Man who spoke ;
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power ;
Who let the turbid streams of rumor flow
Thro’ either babbling world of high and low ;
Whose life was work, whose language rife
With rugged maxims hewn from life ;
Who never spoke against a foe.

* * * * *

“Let his great example stand
 Colossal, seen of every land,
 And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure,
 Till, in all lands and thro’ all human story
The path of duty be the way to glory :
 And let the land whose hearths he saved from shame
 For many and many an age proclaim
 At civic revel and pomp and game,
 And when the long illumined cities flame,
 Their ever-loyal iron leader’s fame,
 With honor, honor, honor, honor to him,
 Eternal honor to his name.”

“If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet, and protection everywhere.”—*Letter accepting National Republican nomination.*

“While it was never a desire of mine to be a candidate for political office, it affords me great gratification to feel that I have the support of those who were with me in the war. If I did not feel that I had the confidence of those, I should feel less desirous of accepting the position. Acceptance is not a matter of choice, but duty.”—*Letter accepting the Soldiers’ and Sailors’ nomination.*

“OUR CANDIDATE—MATCH HIM.”

DEMOSTHENES declared that eloquence consisted in “action!” Were the greatest of ancient orators now living, he would find in these pages the amplest proof of his theory. GENERAL GRANT, though a man of few words, has always shown himself ready with those most fitting. In these pages will be found wise expression properly accompanying great deeds; the statesmanship of common sense aptly offered, and a manliness of character that the world cannot but admire. We offer with pride the recorded opinions of the Republican candidate, GENERAL U. S. GRANT.

THE KEY-NOTE.

“I DO NOT INTEND THAT IT SHALL KEEP ME FROM FIGHTING FOR OUR DEAR OLD FLAG WHEN THE HOUR OF BATTLE COMES.”

Grant to his father before Sumpter was fired on—1861.

“UNCLE SAM HAS EDUCATED ME FOR THE ARMY. THOUGH I HAVE SERVED HIM THROUGH ONE WAR, I DO NOT FEEL THAT I HAVE YET PAID THE DEBT. I AM STILL READY TO DISCHARGE MY OBLIGATIONS, AND SHALL THEREFORE SEE UNCLE SAM THROUGH THIS WAR, TOO.”—*Grant at Galena, April 15, 1861.*

“I LEFT THE ARMY, EXPECTING NEVER TO RETURN. I AM NO SEEKER FOR POSITION, BUT THE COUNTRY, WHICH EDUCATED ME, IS IN SORE PERIL, AND, AS A MAN OF HONOR, I FEEL BOUND TO OFFER MY SERVICES FOR WHATEVER THEY ARE WORTH.”

Grant to Hon. E. B. Washburne, April, 1861.

“I would rather like a regiment, yet there are few men really competent to command a thousand soldiers. I doubt whether I am one of them.”—*Grant at Springfield, April, 1861.*

“I DON'T KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT MAKING SPEECHES; THAT IS NOT IN MY LINE; BUT WE ARE FORMING A COMPANY IN GALENA, AND MEAN TO DO WHAT WE CAN FOR PUTTING DOWN THE REBELLION. IF ANY OF YOU FEEL LIKE ENLISTING, I WILL GIVE YOU ALL THE INFORMATION AND HELP I CAN.”—*Grant at a war meeting, Galena, Ill., April 17, 1861.*

ASSUMING COMMAND.

“I have come among you, not as an enemy, but as your fellow citizen; not to maltreat or annoy you, but to respect and enforce the rights of all loyal citizens. * * * I am here to defend you against this enemy, to assist the authority and sovereignty of your government. I have nothing to do with opinions. I shall deal only with armed rebellion and its aiders and abettors. * * * The strong arm of the Government is here to protect its friends, and punish its enemies.”

Grant to citizens of Paducah, Sept. 6, 1861.

"THE BEGINNING OF THE END!"

"In regard to an exchange of prisoners, as proposed, I can of my own accord make none. I recognize no southern confederacy myself,"—Grant to Polk, October, 1861.

"General, we are surrounded!"

"Well, if that is so, we must cut our way out as we cut our way in," was the cool reply.

Grant and Staff Officer at Belmont.

"We have whipped them once, and I think we can do it again,"—Grant at Belmont.

Some regimental commanders were afraid of censure for their conduct at Belmont. One of them waited on Grant and obtained no satisfaction. Afterwards the General said to a friend: "Colonel ——— is afraid I will report his bad conduct."

"Why don't you do it?" was the reply. "He and the other colonels are to blame for their disobedience, which had nearly involved you in a disaster."

"These officers had never been under fire," said Grant. "They did not understand how serious an affair it was, and they will never forget the lesson they learned. I can judge from their conduct in the action that they are made of the right stuff. *It is better that I should lose my position, if it must be, than that the country should lose the services of five such gallant officers when good men are scarce.*"

Polk, the rebel commander, at Columbus, Ky., in 1861-2, and General Grant met under a flag of truce. After business was concluded, an interchange of social courtesies took place. Polk offered a toast to "the memory of George Washington"—he paused then, as the glasses were raised, continued "the first rebel." There was a laugh on the part of the Union officers. Shortly after flags were again exchanged, and this time it was Grant who offered a toast. It was "equal rights for all;" the General paused, glasses were raised, and he added, "*white or black.*" The rebels were beaten, and good humoredly acknowledged the fact.

MILITARY CONTROL OF WESTERN STEAMBOAT TRAFFIC.

General Grant's earliest command at Cairo impressed him with the necessity of controlling the traffic on the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, and other waters. The steamboat men were not remarkably loyal as a class. Then, and throughout the war, the rebels received large supplies by their aid. Grant's sagacity and foresight is shown in the following:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT S. E. M., CAIRO, Nov. 22, 1861.

Capt. J. C. WILSON, *St. Louis, Mo.:*

I have frequently reported to the Western Department that the line of steamers plying between St. Louis and Cairo, by landing at points on the Missouri shore, were enabled to afford aid and comfort to the enemy.

I have been reliably informed that some of the officers, particularly the clerks of these boats, were regularly in the employ of the Southern Confederacy. The case of the "Platte Valley," a few days since, confirmed me in this belief.

I have heretofore recommended that all the carrying trade between here and St. Louis be performed by Government, charging uniform rates. I would respectfully renew the suggestion, and, in consideration of the special disloyalty of South-East Missouri, I would further recommend that all commerce be cut off from all points south of Cape Girardeau. *There is not a sufficiency of Union sentiment left in this portion of the State to save Sodom.* This is shown from the fact that Jeff. Thompson, and any of the rebels, can go into Charleston and spend hours, or encamp for the night on their way north to depredate upon Union men, and not one loyalist is found to report the fact to our pickets, stationed but one-and-a-half miles off.

(Signed.)

U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier General.*

OPPOSITION TO SPECULATION—SUSTAINING THE PRODUCER AND DEMANDING ECONOMY.

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF CAIRO, CAIRO, Jan. 2, 1862.

Capt. J. C. KELTON, *St. Louis, Mo.:*

I find that the Quartermasters here and at Paducah have advertised for bids to furnish forage at the two places, and have closed the contracts. This was done without my knowl-

edge, and I do not look upon the contract as favorable for the Government. I have, therefore, taken the liberty of annulling the contract made here, and directed the Quartermaster, Capt. Baxter, to purchase for the present. From the statement of Capt. Baxter about twenty per cent. can be saved below the contract prices on hay, and about fifteen per cent. on grain. I would respectfully ask whether I have not the power, and whether it is not my duty, to examine all contracts made within the District, and, if satisfactory to me, require that they be sent to Major Allen, Chief Quartermaster of the Department, for approval before becoming binding upon Government.

I would suggest that the plan of letting large contracts, that can only be taken by men of large capital, must necessarily be expensive. To avoid this I would require the Quartermaster to purchase all the forage offered at market price, until public notice was given that no more would be required. Or, if contracts must be made, receive all bids for whatever amount of one or more articles the bidder might propose to furnish. This would enable the farmer to make a bid for his crop, without having it pass through the hands of a speculator.

U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier General.*

Major ROBERT ALLEN, *Chief Q. M. Dep't Mo.,*
St. Louis, Mo.:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF CAIRO,
CAIRO, Jan. 3, 1862.

I telegraphed you this morning to respect no contract made in this District until you heard from me. I wrote to General Halleck on the subject last night, which letter probably will be laid before you.

Extravagance seems to be the order of the day, and now that I am investigating every Department, and all that is done here, I find that contracts are not given to the lowest bidders. There is probably some explanation that can be given—such as bids being put in informally, arising from ignorance more than any other cause. I would recommend that Capt. Baxter, A. Q. M., now the purchasing Quartermaster here, be allowed to purchase in open market until the atmosphere is purified somewhat. This is not applicable to Cairo alone, but to Paducah also. I do not know the merits of the contracts given, but I do know that nearly twenty per cent. can be saved to the Government by annulling present contracts, made without my knowledge, and adopting the purchasing system. If contracts must be given, I would suggest the plan of receiving bids for any amount of corn, oats, or hay, that any bidder might propose furnishing. This plan would enable the farmer to bid for his crop, without having it pass through the hands of speculators.

(Signed.)

U. S. GRANT, *Brigadier General.*

A law should be passed providing that “all fraudulent contractors be impressed into the ranks, or, still better, into the gunboat service, where they could have no chance of deserting.”

Grant to Halleck, January, 1862.

IN THE FIELD.

“If it was discretionary with me, with a little addition to my present force, I would take Columbus.”—Grant to Fremont, November, 1861.

“Be ready to charge and take the works by storm promptly on receipt of orders.”—Orders to troops at Fort Henry, February 6th, 1862.

“Are the haversacks filled?” asked the General. On examination three days rations were found. Grant’s conclusions were rapid:—“They mean to cut their way out; and have no idea of staying to fight us. Which party attacks now will whip, and the rebels will have to be very quick to beat us.”—Grant at Donelson, after examining prisoners.

“No terms other than an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.”—Grant to Buckner, at Donelson, February 14th, 1862.

“Let us show to our fellow-citizens of these States that we come merely to crush out this rebellion, and to restore to them peace and the benefits of the Constitution and the Union, of which they have been deprived by selfish and unprincipled leaders. They have been told that we come to oppress and plunder. By our acts we will undeceive them. We will prove to them that we come to restore, not violate, the Constitution and the laws. In restoring to them the glorious flag of the Union, we will assure them that they shall enjoy under its folds the same protection of life and property as in former days.”—Grant, on assuming command of West Tennessee, Feb. 23, 1862.

"I have done my very best to obey orders, and to carry out the interests of the service. If my course is not satisfactory, remove me at once. *I do not wish in any way to impede the success of our arms.* * * * I do not feel that I have neglected a single duty."—*From despatch to Halleck, February, 1862.*

During the darkest hours of the first day's fighting at Pittsburg Landing, April 6, 1862, Major General Don Carlos Buell arrived on the field. He had ridden in advance of his own army a long distance. Seeing the desperate state of affairs, he asked Grant—

"What preparations have you made to secure your retreat, General?"

"We shall not retreat, sir."

"But it is possible," added Buell; "and a prudent general always provides for contingencies."

"Well, there are the boats," said Grant.

"The boats!" said Buell. "But they will not hold over ten thousand men, and we have thirty thousand."

"*They will hold more than we shall retreat with. We shall whip them yet,*" was Grant's characteristic reply.

"Attack with a heavy skirmish line as soon it is light enough to see, and then follow up with the entire command, leaving no reserves."—Grant's instructions for second day's fight at Pittsburg Landing.

"I am ready, however, to do with all my might whatever you may direct, without criticism."

Grant to Halleck, October 25, 1862.

"The work of reducing Vicksburg will take time and men, but can be accomplished."—*Grant to Halleck, January, 1863.*

"The movements of an enemy necessarily determine counter-movements."—Grant's instruction to McClernand.

"I cannot afford to quarrel with a man I am obliged to command."—Grant on McClernand in Vicksburg campaign.

"SOLDIERS, I THANK YOT! THAT IS ALL I CAN SAY. YOU HAVE DONE A GOOD DAY'S WORE TO-DAY, BUT YOU MUST DO A BETTER ONE TO-MORROW."—*Grant after Bruinsburg, Miss., May 1, 1863.*

"Certainly, use the negroes, and everything within your command, to the best advantage."

Grant to Parke, Vicksburg campaign.

"Promptly, at the hour designated, all will start at quick time, with bayonet fixed, and march immediately upon the enemy, without firing a gun until the outer works are carried."—Order of assault, Vicksburg, May 22, 1863.

"You will suspend the further publication of your paper. The spirit with which it is conducted is regarded as both incendiary and treasonable, and its issue cannot longer be tolerated."

Order on the *Memphis Avalanche*, July 1, 1862.

During the discussion of plans before Vicksburg for the taking of that position, in April, 1863, General Sherman assured Grant, the only way to do it was to move against it from some high ground as a base, on the north. "This," said Grant, "will require us to go back to Memphis."

"Exactly so," said Sherman, and set forth his reasons.

Grant replied, "*I shall take no step backward: it would seem to the country, now discouraged, like a retreat. I have considered the plan, and have determined to carry it out.*"

"It is expected that all commanders will especially exert themselves in carrying out the policy of the administration, not only in organizing colored regiments and rendering them efficient, but also in removing prejudice against them."—Grant's order, January, 1863.

"You may rely on my carrying out any policy ordered by proper authority to the best of my ability."—*Grant to Halleck, April, 1863.*

"In this battle [Milliken's Bend] most of the troops engaged were Africans, who had but little experience in the use of arms. Their conduct is said, however, to have been most gallant, and, I doubt not, with good officers, they will make good troops."

Grant to Halleck, June, 1863.

A rebel woman living in the outskirts, who had remained in her battered tenement, asked General Grant one day, when he stopped for some water, if he ever expected to take Vicksburg. He said "yes."

"But when?" said the woman.

"I don't know when; but I shall take it if I stay here thirty years."

"The effusion of blood you propose stopping by this course can be ended at any time you may choose by an unconditional surrender of the city and garrison. Men who have shown so much endurance and courage as those now in Vicksburg will always challenge the respect due them as prisoners of war. I do not favor the proposition of appointing commissioners to arrange terms of capitulation, because I have no other terms than those indicated above."

Grant's reply to Pemberton's proposal to surrender Vicksburg, July 3, 1863.

"The first reason for this is their great fitness for any command that it may ever become necessary to entrust to them. Second, their great purity of character, and disinterestedness in everything except the faithful performance of their duty, and the success of every one engaged in the great battle for the preservation of the Union. Third, they have honorably won this distinction upon many well-fought battle-fields. The promotion of such men as Sherman and McPherson always adds strength to our army"—*Grant's letter recommending their promotion.*

"I CARE NOTHING FOR PROMOTION SO LONG AS OUR ARMS ARE SUCCESSFUL."—*Grant to Sherman.*

"If the rebels give us one week more time, I think all danger of losing territory now held by us will have passed away, and preparations may commence for active operations."

Telegram from Chattanooga, October 26, 1863.

"For every act of violence to the person of an unarmed Union citizen, a secessionist will be arrested, and held as hostage for the delivery of the offender. For every dollar's worth of property taken from such citizens, or destroyed by raiders, an assessment will be made upon secessionists of the neighborhood, and collected by the nearest military forces, * * * and the amount thus collected paid over to the sufferers. * * * Wealthy secession citizens will be assessed in money and provisions for the support of Union refugees who have been or may be driven from their homes and into our lines by the acts of those with whom secession citizens are in sympathy."—*Grant's order after battle of Wauhatchie.*

OPINIONS, AXIOMS, AND ORDERS.

"The stability of this Government and unity of this nation depend solely on the cordial support and the earnest loyalty of the people."—*Reply to the address of Memphis Chamber of Commerce, August 25, 1863.*

"Human liberty the only true foundation of human government."—*Grant's Letter to Citizens of Memphis.*

"God gave us LINCOLN and LIBERTY; let us fight for both."—*Grant's cold-water toast at a celebration of Washington's Birthday, 1863.*

In the Summer of '63, a Cincinnati firm, in which Mr. Grant, Sr., was interested, applied for a permit to trade. Mr. Mack, a member of this firm, in a recent lawsuit, swore that the General's reply to the request was as follows:

"I am always pleased, sir, to render any proper assistance in my power to my friends; but I am a General of the Army of the United States Government, and I cannot discriminate between its citizens. I do not know why my father should write asking such a favor. It can have no influence

with me. *The request is improper, as it would give one an advantage over another, and would lead to that demoralization which it is my endeavor to prevent. THE ATTENTION OF THE MILITARY CANNOT BE DIVERTED FROM THE WORK IN HAND, VIZ: SAVING THE COUNTRY. You can take out a permit and trade along the river, as others are doing, and I shall be pleased to hear of your success.*"

"My opinion is that all trade with any enemy, with whom we are at war, is calculated to weaken us indirectly. I am opposed to selling or buying from them while war exists, except those within our lines."—*Grant to Stanton, August 13, 1863.*

"No theory of my own will ever stand in the way of my executing in good faith any order I may receive from those in authority over me"—*Grant to Secretary Chase, July, 1863.*

"No matter what the restrictions thrown around trade, if any whatever is allowed, it will be made the means of supplying the enemy with all they want."—*Grant to Secretary Chase, 1863.*

"I do not know how to impress on you the necessity of holding on to East Tennessee in strong enough terms."—*Grant to Burnside besieged at Knoxville, November, 1863.*

"It is of the most vital importance that East Tennessee should be held."

"I can hardly conceive the necessity of retreating from East Tennessee. *If I did so at all, it would be after losing most of the army. I will not attempt to lay out a line of retreat.*"—*Ibid.*

"I want the enemy's progress retarded at every point all it can be, only giving up each place when it becomes evident that it cannot longer be held without endangering your force to capture."—*Ibid.*

"Can you hold the line from Knoxville to Clinton for seven days? If so, I think the whole Tennessee valley can be secured from present danger."—*Ibid.*

"I accept the commission, with gratitude for the high honor conferred. *With the aid of the noble armies that have fought in so many fields of our common country, it will be my earnest endeavor not to disappoint your expectations.* I feel the full weight of the responsibilities now devolving on me; and I know that if they are met, it will be due to those armies, and, above all, to the favor of that Providence which leads both nations and men."

Grant's acceptance of the Lieutenant General's Commission.

"MR. PRESIDENT—Your very kind letter of yesterday is just received. The confidence you expressed for the future, and satisfaction for the past, in my military administration is acknowledged with pride. It shall be my earnest endeavor that you and the country shall not be disappointed. From my first entry into the volunteer service of the country to the present day I have never had cause of complaint, and have never expressed or implied a complaint against the administration or the Secretary of War for throwing any embarrassment in the way of my vigorously prosecuting what appeared to be my duty. Indeed, since the promotion which placed me in command of all the armies, and in view of the great responsibility and importance of success, I have been astonished at the readiness with which everything asked for has been yielded, without even an explanation being asked. Should my success be less than I desire and expect, the least I can say is, the fault is not with you.

"Very truly, your obedient servant,

Letter to Mr. LINCOLN.

"U. S. GRANT, Lieutenant General."

SLAVERY AND MILITARY NECESSITY.

The earliest expression of General Grant on this subject, made when commanding at Cairo, is worthy attention. The slave referred to in this communication was claimed by the agent of a rebel surgeon—the agent residing in or near our lines. Halleck's order, No. 3, prohibited such slave being admitted into our camps:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF CAIRO, CAIRO, Jan. 5, 1862.

Col. L. F. Ross, Commanding U. S. Forces, Cape Girardeau, Mo.:

I am instructed by General Grant to say to you that he has carefully read your communication with reference to the slave of Dr. Henderson, and fully concurs in your views of the case. While it is not the policy of the military arm of the Government to ignore, or in any manner interfere with, the constitutional rights of loyal citizens, except when a military neces-

sity makes individuals subservient to the public interest, it certainly is not the policy of our army to in any manner aid those who in any manner aid the rebellion. *The slave who is used to support the master who supports the rebellion, is not to be restored to the master by military authority. If such a master has a civil right to reclaim such property, he must resort to the civil authorities to enforce that right. The general commanding does not feel it his duty to feed the foe, or in any manner contribute to their comfort. If Dr. Henderson has given aid and comfort to the enemy, neither he nor his agents have any right to come within our lines, much less to invoke our aid and assistance for any purpose whatever.*

"I feel no inclination to retaliate for offences of irresponsible persons; but if it is the policy of any general intrusted with the command of troops to show no quarter, or to punish with death prisoners taken in battle, I will accept the issue. It may be that you propose a different line of policy towards black troops and officers commanding them, to that practised towards white troops: if so, I can assure you that these colored troops are regularly mustered into the service of the United States. *The government, and all officers under the government, are bound to give the same protection to these troops that they do to any other troops.*"

Grant to Rebel Gen. Dick Taylor, after battle of Milliken's Bend.

"The people of the North need not quarrel over the institution of slavery. What Vice-President Stephens acknowledges the corner-stone of the Confederacy is already knocked out. *Slavery is already dead, and cannot be resurrected.* It would take a standing army to maintain slavery in the South, if we were to make peace to-day, guaranteeing to the South all their former constitutional privileges. *I never was an abolitionist, not even what could be called anti-slavery; but I try to judge fairly and honestly; and it became patent to my mind, early in the rebellion, that the North and South could never live at peace with each other except as one nation, and that without slavery.* As anxious as I am to see peace established, I would not, therefore, be willing to see any settlement until this question is forever settled."

Grant's letter to Hon. E. B. Washburne, August 30, 1862.

ENFRANCHISEMENT.

"Go to the Union Republicans in Congress, and them alone. Have nothing whatever to do with Northerners who opposed the war. They will never again be intrusted with power. *The more you consort with them, the more exacting the Republicans will be, and OUGHT TO BE.* When you get home, urge your people to accept negro suffrage. *If you had promptly adopted the constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, or the one making negroes citizens, and guaranteeing the public debt, Congress would undoubtedly have admitted you before this.* Now it will insist upon adding impartial suffrage. The sooner you accept that, the better for all concerned."

Advice to Gov. Orr, of S. C., and others, winter of 1866.

"Since that I have talked with several members of Congress who are classed with the Radicals—Schenck and Boutwell, for instance. They express the most generous views as to what would be done if the Constitutional amendments proposed by Congress were adopted by the Southern States. What was done in the case of Tennessee was an earnest of what would be done in all cases."—*Letter to General Richard Taylor, (Rebel,) Nov. 25, 1866.*

"I never could have believed that I should favor giving negroes the right to vote; but that seems to me the only solution of our difficulties."—Grant in 1866.

BEFORE RICHMOND.

"I assume command of the armies of the United States. *Headquarters will be in the field, and, till further orders, will be with the Army of the Potomac.*"

General order assuming general command of the army.

"This is a wonderfully fine appearing army; but it has seemed to me it never fought its battles through." General Grant's criticism on the Army of the Potomac.

"I have noticed that these Southerners fight desperately at first; yet when we hang on a day or two, we whip them awfully."—Grant at the Wilderness, May 6, 1864.

"I PROPOSE TO FIGHT IT OUT ON THIS LINE, IF IT TAKES ALL SUMMER."

Grant's Dispatch from the Wilderness, May, 1864.

"Gentlemen, I cannot consider your recommendation; my course doesn't lie in that direction; it lies beyond Richmond!"

Grant's reply to officers who desired him to retreat after the 3d of May, 1864.

"The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. * * * A man lost by them cannot be replaced. *They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force.*"

Grant to Hon. E. B. Washburne, August 16, 1864.

A suggestion was made in Congress during the Atlanta campaign to place Sherman in supreme command. The latter wrote Grant deprecatingly. He replied:

"If you are put above me, I shall always obey you, just as you always have me."

"Concentrate all your available force; and if it is found that the enemy has moved north of the Potomac in large force, push North, follow him, attack him, wherever he can be found. Follow him, if driven south of the Potomac, as long as it is safe to do so."—Grant to Sheridan, '64.

"In pushing up the Shenandoah valley, it is desirable that nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, stock, wanted for the use of your command, such as cannot be consumed, destroy. * * * Bear in mind the object is to drive the enemy south, and to do this *you want to keep him always in sight.* Be guided in your course by the course he takes."—Grant to Sheridan, 1864.

In regard to the same campaign, Grant said that the valley should be so cleared that, *"Crows flying over it would, for the season, have to carry their own rations."*

"Rebel armies now are the only strategic points to strike at."

Grant's instructions to Sherman, April 5, 1865.

"I now feel like ending the matter, if it is possible to do so, before going back. I do not want you, therefore, to cut loose, and go after the enemy's roads at present. In the morning push around the enemy, if you can, and get on to his right rear. The movements of the enemy's cavalry may, of course, modify your action. *We will act all together as one army here until it is seen what can be done with the enemy.*"—Grant to Sheridan in pursuit of Lee, April, 1865.

DEFEAT AND SURRENDER OF LEE.

FIRST LETTER.

April 7, 1865.

GENERAL—The result of the last week must convince you of the hopelessness of further resistance on the part of the Army of Northern Virginia in this struggle. I feel that it is so, and regard it as my duty to shift from myself the responsibility of any further effusion of blood, by asking of you the surrender of that portion of the Confederate States Army known as the "Army of Northern Virginia."

Gen. R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant General.

SECOND LETTER.

April 8, 1865.

GENERAL—Your note of last evening, in reply to mine of same date, asking condition on which I will accept the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia, is just received. In reply, I would say, that, *peace* being my great desire, there is but one condition I would insist upon; namely, that the men and officers surrendered shall be disqualified for taking up arms again against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged. I will meet you, or will designate officers to meet any officers you may name for the same purpose, at any point agreeable to you, for the purpose of arranging definitely the terms upon which the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia will be received.

Gen. R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant General.

TERMS OF SURRENDER.

APPOMATTOX COURT-HOUSE, Va., April 9, 1865.

GENERAL—In accordance with the substance of my letter to you of the 8th instant, I propose to receive the surrender of the Army of Northern Virginia on the following terms, to wit: rolls of all the officers and men to be made in duplicate: one copy to be given to an officer to be designated by me, the other to be retained by such officer or officers as you may designate. The officers to give their individual paroles not to take up arms against the Government of the United States until properly exchanged, and each company or regimental commander to sign a

like parole for the men of their commands. *The arms, artillery, and public property, to be parked and stacked, and turned over to the officers appointed by me to receive them. This will not embrace the side-arms of the officers, nor their private horses or baggage. This done, each officer and man will be allowed to return to his home, not to be disturbed by United States authority so long as they observe their paroles, and THE LAWS IN FORCE WHERE THEY MAY RESIDE.*

Gen. R. E. LEE.

U. S. GRANT,
Lieutenant General.

CONGRATULATORY ORDERS TO TROOPS.

"It has been his [the General's] fortune to have been in all the battles fought in Mexico by Scott and Taylor, save Buena Vista; and he never saw one more hotly contested, or where troops behaved with more gallantry. *Such courage will insure victory wherever our flag may be borne and protected by such a class of men. To the brave who fell, the sympathy of the country is due, and will be manifested in a manner unmistakable.*"—[After Belmont.]

"For four successive nights, without shelter, during the most inclement weather known in this latitude, they faced an enemy in large force, in a position chosen by himself. Though strongly fortified by nature, all the additional safeguards suggested by science were added. Without a murmur this was borne; prepared at all times to receive an attack, and with continuous skirmishing by day, resulting, ultimately, in forcing the enemy to surrender without conditions.

"The victory achieved is not only great in the effect it will have in breaking down rebellion, but has secured the greatest number of prisoners of war ever taken in any battle on this continent. Fort Donelson will hereafter be marked in capitals on the map of our united country; and the men who fought the battle will live in the memory of a grateful people."—[After Donelson.]

"The general commanding congratulates the troops who so gallantly maintained their position, repulsed and routed a numerically superior force of the enemy, composed of the flower of the Southern army, commanded by their ablest generals, and fought by them with all the desperation of despair. In numbers engaged, no such contest ever took place on this continent; in importance of result, but few such have taken place in the history of the world.

"Whilst congratulating the brave and gallant soldiers, it becomes the duty of the general commanding to make special notice of the brave wounded and those killed on the field. Whilst they leave friends and relations to mourn their loss, they have won a nation to gratitude, and undying laurels not to be forgotten by future generations, who will enjoy the blessings of the best government the sun ever shown upon, preserved by their valor."—[After Pittsburg Landing.]

"Besides the heavy artillery at the place, four field-pieces were captured, and some stores; and the enemy were driven to destroy many more. The country is the most broken and difficult to operate in I ever saw. Our victory has been most complete, and the enemy is thoroughly demoralized."—Grant to Halleck after Grand Gulf movement, 1863.

"The enemy surrendered this morning. The only terms allowed is their parole as prisoners of war. This I regard as a great advantage to us at this moment. It saves, probably, several days in the capture, and leaves troops and transports ready for immediate service. Sherman, with a large force, moves immediately upon Johnston to drive him from the State."—Grant to Halleck, announcing the surrender of Vicksburg.

"You have secured positions from which no rebellious power can drive or dislodge you. For all this the General commanding thanks you collectively and individually. The loyal people of the United States thank and bless you. Their hopes and prayers for your success against this unholy Rebellion are with you daily. Their faith in you will not be in vain. Their hopes will not be blasted. Their prayers to Almighty God will be answered. You will go to other fields of strife; and with the invincible bravery and unflinching loyalty to justice and right which have characterized you in the past, you will prove that no enemy can withstand you, and that no defences, however formidable, can check your onward march."—[After Mission Ridge.]

"Soldiers of the Armies of the United States :

"By your patriotic devotion to your country in the hour of danger and alarm, your magnificent fighting, bravery and endurance, you have maintained the supremacy of the Union and the Constitution, overthrown all armed opposition to the enforcement of the laws and the proclamations forever abolishing slavery—the cause and pretext of the rebellion—and opened the way to the rightful authorities to restore order and inaugurate peace on a permanent and enduring basis on every foot of American soil. Your marches, sieges and battles, in distance, duration, resolution and brilliancy of results, dim the lustre of the world's past military achievements, and will be the patriot's precedent in the defence of liberty and right in all time to come. In obedience to your country's call, you left your homes and families, and volunteered in her defence. Victory has crowned your valor and secured the purpose of your patriotic hearts; and with the gratitude of your countrymen, and the highest honors a great and free nation can accord, you will soon be permitted to return to your homes and families, conscious of having discharged the highest duty of American citizens. To achieve these glorious triumphs, and secure to yourselves, fellow-countrymen and posterity the blessings of free institutions, tens of thousands of

your gallant comrades have fallen, and sealed the priceless legacy with their blood. The graves of these a grateful nation bedews with tears, honors their memories, and will ever cherish and support their stricken families."—[*After the surrender of Lee and Johnston.*]

Speaking of the armies of the East and West, General Grant, in the closing words of his report in 1865, says: "The splendid achievements of each have nationalized our victories, removed all sectional jealousies, (of which we have unfortunately experienced too much), and the cause of crimination and recrimination that might have followed had either section failed in its duty. All have a proud record; and all sections can well congratulate themselves and each other for having done their full share in restoring the supremacy of law over every foot of territory belonging to the United States. Let them hope for perpetual peace and harmony with that enemy whose manhood, however mistaken the cause, drew forth such herculean deeds of valor."

MAXIMILIAN AND MEXICO.

General Grant early urged that to support our neighbor Republic insured us peace. On the 19th of June, 1865, in an official letter to President Johnson, General Grant says:

"The great interest which I feel in securing an honorable and permanent peace, whilst we still have in service a force sufficient to insure it, and the danger and disgrace which, in my judgment threaten us, unless positive and early measures are taken to avert it, induces me to lay my views before you in an official form.

"In the first place, I regard the act of attempting to establish a monarchical government on this continent in Mexico, by foreign bayonets, as an act of hostility against the Government of the United States. If allowed to go on until such a government is established, I see nothing before us but a long, expensive, and bloody war; one in which the enemies of this country will be joined by tens of thousands of disciplined soldiers embittered against their Government by the experience of the last four years.

"As a justification for open resistance to the establishment of Maximilian's government in Mexico, I would give the following reasons:

"First. The act of attempting to establish a monarchy on this continent was an act of known hostility to the Government of the United States. * * * * *

"Second. Every act of the empire of Maximilian has been hostile to the Government of the United States. Matamoras and the whole Rio Grande, under his control, has been an open port to those in rebellion against this Government." * * * * *

Speaking of the emigration of rebel leaders and soldiers to Mexico, Grant proceeds:

"That the leaders will espouse the cause of the empire, purely out of hostility to this Government, I feel there is no doubt. There is a hope that the rank and file may take the opposite side, if any influence is allowed to work upon their reason. But if a neutrality is to be observed which allows armed rebels to go to Mexico, and which keeps out all other immigrants, and which also denies to the liberals of Mexico belligerent rights—the right to buy arms and munitions in foreign markets, and to transport them through friendly territory to their homes—I see no chance for such influence to be brought to bear.

"What I would propose would be a solemn protest against the establishment of a monarchical government in Mexico by the aid of foreign bayonets." * * * "The French have a just claim against Mexico, I would regard them as having triumphed, and would guarantee them suitable award for their grievances. Mexico would no doubt admit their claim; it would not affect their territory or rights as a free people.

"The United States could take such pledges as would secure her against loss. * * * If this course cannot be agreed upon, then I would recognize equal belligerent rights to both parties."

On the 1st of September, 1865, from Galena, Ill., Grant wrote the President, that after mingling with the people for seven weeks, he is more than convinced—

"That there is but one opinion as to the duty of the United States toward Mexico, or, rather, the usurpers in that country. All agree that, beside a yielding of the long-proclaimed Monroe doctrine, non-intervention in Mexican affairs will lead to an expensive and bloody war hereafter or a yielding of territory now possessed by us. To let the empire of Maximilian be established on our frontier, is to permit an enemy to establish himself who will require a large

standing army to watch. * * *The trade of an empire will be lost to our commerce, and Americans, instead of being the most favored people of the world throughout the length and breadth of this continent, will be scoffed and laughed at by their adjoining neighbors, both North and South—the people of the British Provinces and of Mexico.*”—*From A. D. Richardson's Personal History of Grant.*

“There is but one party, one Government in Mexico whose wishes have claims to respect from us. No policy has been adopted by our Government which authorizes us to interfere on Mexican soil with that country; but there is nothing, that I know of, to prevent the free passage of people or material going through our territory to the aid of the recognized Government. Our neutrality should prevent our allowing the same thing when the effect is to make war upon that Government, so long as we are at peace with it.”—*Ibid.* Grant to Sheridan, Oct. 9, 1866.

PROPOSED MEXICAN MISSION.

About the time of the Maryland disturbances in 1866, an effort was made to get General Grant out of the country. He took a deep interest in the affairs of Mexico, and the proposal was made to attach him to the Mexican Embassy. The proposition was declined several times. Extracts from these papers are given:

“On further and full reflection upon the subject of my accepting the mission, I have most respectfully to beg to be excused from the duty proposed. *It is a diplomatic service for which I am not fitted by education or taste.* I most respectfully but urgently repeat my request to be excused from the performance of a duty entirely out of my sphere, and one, too, which can be so much better performed by others.”—*To the President, Oct. 21, 1866.*

In a week it was again urged, by formal letters of instruction, &c., to this, after suggesting that Generals Sherman, Sheridan, or Hancock could be appropriately employed in this duty, and the reorganization of the army then going on, rendered it necessary for him to be in telegraphic communication with department commanders, Grant thus distinctly shows the futility of the schemes.

“If it is desirable that our minister should communicate with me he can do so through the officer who may accompany him, with but very little delay beyond what would be experienced if I were to accompany him myself. *I might add that I would not dare counsel the minister in any matter beyond stationing of troops on the United States soil, without the concurrence of the administration. That concurrence could be more speedily had with me here than if I were upon the frontier. The stationing of troops would be as fully within the control of the accompanying officer as it would of mine.* I sincerely hope I may be excused from undertaking a duty so foreign to my office and tastes as that contemplated.”—*Letter of October 27, 1866.*

The dates of these documents are worth comparing with those relating to Maryland. At a Cabinet meeting held to discuss this subject, during the period specified in the foregoing papers, General Grant was summoned to attend. Detailed instructions relating to the projected visit were read by the Secretary of State. Grant again declined. The President then asked the Attorney General if he was in any way ineligible for the duty. Before a reply could be made, the General himself, said:

“I can answer that question, Mr. President, without appealing to the Attorney General. I am an American citizen; have been guilty of no treason or other crime, and am eligible to any civil office to which any other American is eligible. But this is a purely civil duty to which you would assign me, and I cannot be compelled to undertake it. Any legal military order you give me I will obey; but this is civil, not military, and I decline the duty.”

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS—PROTECTION TO OUR SOLDIERS.

General Grant wrote as follows to Major General Butler, under date “Head-quarters Armies of the U. S. in field, Culpeper C. H., Va., April 17, 1864,” in relation to the exchange of our prisoners:

“1. Touching the validity of the paroles of the prisoners captured at Vicksburg and Port Hudson. * * 2. The status of colored prisoners.

As to the first, no arrangement for the exchange of prisoners will be acceded to that does not fully recognize the validity of these paroles, &c. * * *

"As to the second, no distinction whatever will be made in the exchange between white and colored prisoners, the only question being, *Were they, at the time of their capture, in the military service of the United States?* If they were, the same terms as to treatment while prisoners, and conditions of release and exchange, must be exacted and had in the case of colored soldiers as in the case of white soldiers."

"Q. It has been said that we refused to exchange prisoners because we found ours starved, diseased, and unserviceable when we received them, and did not like to exchange sound men for such men?

"A. There has never been any such reason as that. That has been a reason for making exchanges. I will confess that if our men who are prisoners in the South were really well taken care of, suffering nothing except a little privation of liberty, then, in a military point of view, it would not be good policy for us to exchange; because every man they get is forced right into the army at once, while that is not the case with our prisoners when we receive them. In fact, the half of our returned prisoners will never go into the army again, and none of them will until after they have had a furlough of thirty or sixty days. Still, the fact of their suffering as they do is a reason for making this exchange as rapidly as possible."—Grant's Evidence before the Committee on Conduct of the War, Feb. 11, 1865.

RECONSTRUCTION—PROTECTING OUR SOLDIERS AND LOYAL CITIZENS.

WASHINGTON, July 6, 1866.

GENERAL ORDERS, No. 44.—Department, district, and post commanders in the States lately in rebellion are hereby directed to arrest all persons who have been or may hereafter be charged with the commission of crimes and offences against officers, agents, citizens, and inhabitants of the United States, irrespective of color, in cases where the civil authorities have failed, neglected, or are unable to arrest and bring such persons to trial, and to detain them in military confinement until such time as proper judicial tribunal may be ready and willing to try them.

"In my opinion the great number of murders of Union men and freedmen in Texas, not only as a rule unpunished, but uninvestigated, constitute practically a state of insurrection, and believing it to be the province and duty of every good government to afford protection to the lives, liberty, and property of her citizens, I would recommend the declaration of martial law in Texas to secure these ends.

"The necessity for governing any portion of our territory by martial law is to be deplored. If resorted to, it should be limited in its authority, and should leave all local authorities and civil tribunals free and unobstructed, until they prove their inefficiency or unwillingness to perform their duties.

"Martial law would give security, or comparatively so, to all classes of citizens, without regard to race, color, or political opinions, and could be continued until society was capable of protecting itself, or until the State is returned to its full relation with the Union. The application of martial law to one of these States would be a warning to all, and, if necessary, could be extended to others."

Grant on Texas affairs, January, 1867.

"Although it would meet with opposition in the North to allow Lee the benefit of amnesty, I think it would have the best possible effect towards restoring good feeling and peace in the South to have him come in. All the people, except a few political leaders in the South, will accept whatever he does as right, and be guided to a great extent by his example."

Letter to the President, 1865.

"The white and black continually require the protection of the general Government. In some form the Freedmen's Bureau is an absolute necessity, until the civil law is established and enforced, securing to freedmen their rights and full protection."

Grant's Report to the President, January, 1866.

SHERIDAN'S AND STANTON'S REMOVALS.

"First. On the subject of the displacement of the Secretary of War. His removal cannot be effected against his will without the consent of the Senate. * * * It certainly

was the intention of the legislative branch of the Government to place Cabinet ministers beyond the power of Executive removal, and it is pretty well understood that so far as Cabinet ministers are affected by the 'tenure-of-office bill,' it was intended specially to protect the Secretary of War, whom the country felt great confidence in. *The meaning of the law may be explained away by an astute lawyer, but common sense and the views of loyal people will give to it the effect intended by its framers.*

"On the subject of the removal of the very able commander of the fifth military district, let me ask you to consider the effect it would have upon the public. * * * In conclusion, allow me to say, as a friend desiring peace and quiet, the welfare of the whole country, North and South, that it is in my opinion more than the loyal people of this country (I mean those who supported the Government during the great rebellion) will quietly submit to, to see the very men of all others whom they had expressed confidence in removed.

"I would not have taken the liberty of addressing the Executive of the United States thus, but for the conversation on the subject alluded to in this letter, and from a sense of duty, feeling that I know I am right in this matter."—Grant to the President, August 1, 1867.

The second was written during the same month. Its principal points are given below:

"It is unmistakably the expressed wish of the country that General Sheridan should not be removed from his present command. THIS IS A REPUBLIC WHERE THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE IS THE LAW OF THE LAND. I BEG THAT THEIR VOICE MAY BE HEARD. General Sheridan has performed his civil duties faithfully and intelligently. His removal will only be regarded as an effort to defeat the laws of Congress. *It will be interpreted by the unreconstructed element in the South, those who did all they could to break up this Government by arms, and now wish to be the only element consulted as to the method of restoring order, as a triumph. It will embolden them to renewed opposition to the will of the loyal masses, believing that they have the Executive with them.*"

Grant to Johnson, August 17, 1867.

CONTROVERSY WITH THE PRESIDENT.

"From our conversations, and my written protest of August 1, 1867, against the removal of Mr. Stanton, you must have known that my greatest objection to his removal or suspension was the fear that some one would be appointed in his stead who would, by opposition to the laws relating to the restoration of the Southern States to their proper relations to the Government, embarrass the army in the performance of duties especially imposed upon it by these laws; and it was to prevent such an appointment that I accepted the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*, and not for the purpose of enabling you to get rid of Mr. Stanton by my withholding it from him in opposition to law, or, not doing so myself, surrender it to one who would, as the statement and assumptions in your communication plainly indicate was sought. And it was to avoid this same danger, as well as to relieve you from the personal embarrassment in which Mr. Stanton's reinstatement would place you, that I urged the appointment of Governor Cox, believing that it would be agreeable to you and also to Mr. Stanton—satisfied as I was that it was the good of the country, and not the office, the latter desired. * * *

"The course you would have it understood I agreed to pursue was in violation of law, and without orders from you; while the course I did pursue, and which I never doubted you fully understood, was in accordance with law, and not in disobedience of any orders of my superior.

"And now, Mr. President, when my honor as a soldier and integrity as a man have been so violently assailed, pardon me for saying that I can but regard this whole matter, from the beginning to the end, as an attempt to involve me in the resistance of law, for which you hesitated to assume the responsibility in orders, and thus to destroy my character before the country. I am in a measure confirmed in this conclusion by your recent orders directing me to disobey orders from the Secretary of War—my superior and your subordinate—without having countermanded his authority to issue the orders I am to disobey."—Grant to the President on the restoration of Stanton, Feb. 3, 1868.

ACCEPTING THE REPUBLICAN NOMINATION.

"All that I can say is that, to whatever position I may be called by your will, I shall endeavor to discharge its duties with fidelity and honesty of purpose. Of my rectitude in the performance of public duties, you will have to judge for yourselves by my record before you."—Speech in response to a serenade.

"Gentlemen of the Committee of Soldiers and Sailors:"

"I will say that it was never a desire of mine to be a candidate for any political office. It is a source of gratification to me to feel that I have the support of those who sustained me in the great rebellion through which we have passed. *If I did not feel I had the support of those, I would have never consented to be a candidate.* It was not a matter of choice with me; but *I hope, as I have accepted, that I will have your aid and support from now until November, as I had it during the rebellion.*"—Speech May 29, 1868.

"Mr. President and Gentlemen of the National Union Convention:"

"I will endeavor, in a very short time, to write you a letter accepting the trust you have imposed upon me. Expressing my gratitude for the confidence you have placed in me, I will now say but little orally, and that is to thank you for the unanimity with which you have selected me as a candidate for the Presidential office. I can say, in addition, I looked on, during the progress of the proceedings at Chicago, with a great deal of interest, and am gratified with the harmony and unanimity which seem to have governed the deliberations of the Convention.

"If chosen to fill the high office for which you have selected me, *I will give to its duties the same energy, the same spirit, and the same will that I have given to the performance of all duties which have devolved upon me heretofore.* Whether I shall be able to perform those duties to your entire satisfaction, time will determine. You have truly said, in the course of your address, that *I shall have no policy of my own to interpose against the will of the people.*"—Speech in reply to Governor Hawley's, tendering the Republican nomination.

WASHINGTON, D. C. May 29, 1868.

"GEN. JOSEPH R. HAWLEY,

"President National Union Republican Committee:"

"In formally accepting the nomination of the National Republican Convention, it seems proper that some statement of views beyond the mere acceptance of the nomination should be expressed.

"The proceedings of the Convention were marked with wisdom, moderation and patriotism, and I believe express the feelings of the great mass of those who sustained the country through its recent trials. I endorse their resolutions. If elected to the office of President of the United States, it will be my endeavor to administer all the laws in good faith, with economy, and with the view of giving peace, quiet and protection everywhere. In times like the present, it is impossible, or, at least, eminently improper, to lay down a policy to be adhered to, right or wrong, through an administration of four years. New political issues, not foreseen, are constantly arising; the views of the public on old ones are constantly changing, and a purely administrative officer should always be left free to execute the will of the people. I always have respected that will, and always shall.

"Peace and universal prosperity, its sequence, with economy of administration, will lighten the burden of taxation, while it constantly reduces the national debt. Let us have peace.

"With great respect, your obedient servant,

"U. S. GRANT."

"It is an insult to ask any Northern man to support a candidate whose anxiety that the Flag should have thirty-six, and not twenty stars, did not come to him until after Lee's surrender."—*Private Letter of General Grant, 1866.*

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